Florida Historical Quarterly

Volume 64
Number 2 *Florida Historical Quarterly, Volume 64, Number 2*

Article 7

1985

Book Reviews

Florida Historical Society
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Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1985) "Book Reviews," *Florida Historical Quarterly*: Vol. 64 : No. 2 , Article 7.
Available at: https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol64/iss2/7

BOOK REVIEWS

Governor LeRoy Collins of *Florida: Spokesman for the New South.* By Tom R. Wagy. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1985. x, 264 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $22.50.)

This biography of former Governor LeRoy Collins is well-written and emphasizes the growth in Collins's mastery of issues as his political career developed from 1934 until 1968. At the same time, while he contributed greatly to the solution of Florida's development, his role in facilitating integration of races ultimately brought an end to his ability to win electoral office. Yet, he accomplished a great deal and stands high among twentieth-century Florida governors in both ability and achievement. Wagy's well-written book joins other studies of twentieth-century Florida figures as a definite contribution which readers will welcome. These other books include Samuel Proctor's study of Governor Napoleon B. Broward, Wayne Flynt's biographies of Senator Duncan U. Fletcher and of Governor Sidney J. Catts, and David Colburn and Richard Scher's study of twentieth-century Florida governors.

LeRoy Collins was born in Tallahassee, Florida, on March 10, 1909, the son of a moderately successful grocery store owner. He grew up as a Methodist and later became an Episcopalian. He always held strong moral beliefs which ultimately influenced his position and treatment of blacks and still later caused him to oppose the imposition of capital punishment, although his earlier social and political positions were those of a typical middle-class small town Southerner. After high school, he attended one term of a northern business school and then received a law degree from the one-year law school, Cumberland University. Wagy calls his early political position as being typical of the "New South" attitude of Henry Grady of Georgia, emphasizing government support for education, for business development, and for free enterprise. Later Collins strongly admired Franklin Delano Roosevelt's leadership, and he became a New Deal Democrat. He was elected to the Florida House of Representatives in 1936 and then to the Florida Senate from the district centering on Leon County. In the senate he championed the cause of public education and also sought to promote such governmental reforms as reapportionment, executive branch reorganization, home rule for counties and cities, and a new constitution to replace that of 1885. Following the death in office of his friend Governor Daniel McCarty, he successfully ran for the last two years of McCarty's term, 1954-1956, and was then re-elected for a full four-year term, 1956-1960. During this time he made progress on strengthening the merit system, removing state road contracts from a patronage system, and from appointing judges on a patronage basis. However, on the major issues of reapportionment and constitutional revision, his strenuous efforts were defeated by the control of the agrarian north Florida legislative group known as "Pork-Choppers," who constituted a majority in the malapportioned legislature. Wagy brings this struggle vividly to life.

Following the school integration decision of *Brown* v. *School Board of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), he successfully led the fight against school closing in Florida and against massive resistance. At the same time he at first criticized the integration decision, and supported measures attempting to preserve segregation in the schools by peaceful means, but by the end of his term he was urging the South to change and began saying that integration was inevitable and was morally just. His leadership of southern moderates gained him the chairmanship of both the Southern Governors' Conference and National Governors' Conference. He was also named as the permanent chairman of the 1960 Democratic National Convention, and was considered as a possible vice-presidential candidate on the ticket with John F. Kennedy (a position won by Lyndon B. Johnson when it became obvious that Collins had lost control both of the Florida delegation to the convention and also the Florida Democratic party). Wagy might have mentioned the consequences had Collins, rather than Johnson, been the vice-president when Kennedy ultimately was assassinated during his single term as president.

Following the close of his gubernatorial term in January 1961, Collins served for two years as president of the National Association of Broadcasters and then, after Johnson assumed the presidency, became head of the Community Relations Service under the United States Commerce Department. This agency helped to resolve integration problems in over 120 communities. Ultimately, this led to Collins mediating between the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and officials of Selma and the Alabama Highway Patrol concerning King's march from Selma to Montgomery. In much of the press, including the Florida press, the pictures of Collins and King were captioned as showing the two leading the blacks on the march. Collins next served as undersecretary of commerce under Johnson, and then returned to practice law in Florida. In 1968, when United State Senator George Smathers announced his retirement, Collins ran for the Senate seat, only to be challenged by his primary opponent, Attorney General Earl Faircloth, on the issue of "law and order," a codeword which implied responsibility for integrationist riots and the sit-ins at southern lunch counters and motels. While Collins successfully won a narrow victory in the Democratic primary, he carried only four counties in the general election and was defeated by his Republican opponent, Edward J. Gurney.

After returning to Tallahassee to lick his wounds, Collins wrote a series of historical essays which appeared in his book, *Forerunners Courageous.* He revealed his writing skill and his ability to depict past events in a colorful way. He then resumed the practice of law and served by appointment on such official committees as the Constitution Revision Commission, which presented a new constitution to the voters and was rejected by them in 1978, and the Commission on Post-Secondary Education, which influenced the development of colleges and universities. He also has frequently spoken out against capital punishment. Wagy thus presents, in an attractive style, an appraisal of one of Florida's leading political figures since World War II. The author also shows how the challenge of tremendous growth in Florida and great social and economic change has brought about many interesting and controversial political developments during the past fifty years.

University of Florida MANNING J. DAUER

He-Coon: The Bob Sikes Story. Edited by Bobbye Sikes Wicke. (Pensacola: Perdido Bay Press, 1984. x, 757 pp. Forword, illustrations, index. $22.95.)

He-Coon, the autobiography of former Congressman Bob Sikes, is an account of his "love affair" with his district, the panhandle of Florida, and the people– his people– who live there. His territory was 235 miles long, from the Aucilla River between Monticello and Madison to the Alabama-Florida line west of Pensacola. After congressional re-districting, Congressman Sikes represented only about one-half of the area, but it was still a huge territory. Fifty years ago the panhandle country was considered the "State of West Florida" by most of its inhabitants; many natives referred to it as "West By God Florida." This beautiful, mostly undeveloped land of resourceful people was rather unique in its loyalty to a geographical and cultural identity. They were overwhelmingly concerned with the good opinions of their neighbors. In national politics they were not ideological conformists. Much of this unique West Florida character is still true today, and Bob Sikes, their most famous citizen, proudly tells of his service to "his" people, first as state representative from Okaloosa County in the Florida legislature for two-terms, and then for thirty-eight consecutive years in the Congress.

The language of *He-Coon* is folksy, interlaced with homilies and candid observations. For example, Clarence Cannon, chairman of the House committee on appropriations, is described as being "strongly opinionated, crusty, and tough, but very able." Among the less generous critics of Cannon claimed, "He wasn't as mean sometimes as he was usually."

The first section of *He-Coon* describes Sikes's life and activities before he went to Washington. It is most entertaining and informative. Sikes narrates his memories of noted people in Florida politics, and he also remembers hundreds of the not-so-well-known citizens who voted for him year after year and insisted that he remain as their representative in national government. *He-Coon* is a book not only for those who enjoy reading about Florida politics, but also for many others, including genealogists who will gather much information concerning the many people who attended the reunions of the Williams, Mashburn, Gainer, Gordon, Parker, and Watford families.

Congressman Sikes neglected no area of the panhandle in his search for votes. He was a frequent visitor even to small rural hamlets like Two Egg, he listened appreciatively to the Gospel choirs, and he enjoyed most of all "pressing the flesh" with voters at political rallies. This was the normal routine for successful politicking in Florida a half century ago. It led Bob Sikes to Tallahassee and then Congress in 1941 where he served for thirty-eight years.

In the second part of his autobiography, Congressman Sikes outlines some of the important services he performed for "his people": promotion of defense installations ($750,000,000 in federal expenditures in 1979, and employment of 50,000 people); legislation to promote rivers, ports, and harbors; farm and forestry laws; and support of educational and welfare programs consistent with his political philosophy. There were also thousands of personal errands and chores for individuals– the sine qua non for re-election. His efforts were tireless and his success, legendary.

We are introduced to dozens of world figures and hundreds of other political personalities as the author covers important national political events from 1941 through 1979. In 600 pages of *He-Coon* historians and political scientists will find important observations about political America. President Eisenhower's illnesses, President Johnson's change of ideologies, and the liberalizing of the congressional committee seniority rules are some of the important events covered by Congressman Sikes.

Sikes also calls attention to his reprimand by the United States House of Representatives; it was, he says, "The saddest moment of my life." He emphasizes the double standards of conflict of interest interpretations, and argues that he was treated unfairly because of his political philosophy. He also includes information about other members of Congress– whose misdeeds have often gone unpunished. He wonders, for example, how many citizens know on what payrolls, other than congressional, their congressman's name appear. It is a fact that even after the reprimand, Sikes's constituents voted three to one for him, but he voluntarily retired in 1979 and returned home to Okaloosa County.

I served in Congress with Bob Sikes for fourteen years. He was most gracious to me and aided me in the passage of many pieces of legislation that benefitted all of the state of Florida. Sikes was the dean of the Florida delegation; no member of Congress that I knew worked more diligently or more successfully for his district than he. Congressman Sikes was and is the

He-Coon to the people of west Florida.

Gainesville, Florida D. R. "BILLY" MATTHEWS

The Miami Riot of 1980: Crossing the Bounds. By Bruce Porter and Marvin Dunn. (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1984. xvi, 207 pp. Preface, introduction, figures and tables, index, biographical note. $19.00.)

In May 1980, an all-white jury in Tampa acquitted five Miami policemen of manslaughter charges in the death of Arthur McDuffie, a black insurance agent who had died as a result of a beating in the wake of an alleged traffic violation. Within hours after the verdict exonerating the white policemen, blacks in Miami started a riot that lasted for three days. In this study commissioned by the Ford Foundation, the authors have sketched the background of the riot and examined in detail its course and aftermath. Drawing on more than 250 interviews, the authors have produced an exhaustive and often gripping account of what occurred and how public officials, especially police, responded.

Indeed, the book reads in part like a manual on riot control. Significantly, the longest chapter is devoted to "The Police." However, the study is no mere apologia for local police forces. In explaining the immediate precipitants of the riot and its prolongation during three days, the authors assign responsibility to the police and the criminal justice system. The McDuffie case was the last in "a series of five highly sensitive cases [which] reinforced the belief widely held among blacks that they could never expect to get fair treatment from the criminal justice system of Dade County" (p. 27). So, too, the authors contend that (in hindsight) Miami police missed opportunities to quell the riot in its early stages.

Both the strengths and weaknesses of this inquiry probably result from the authors' particular backgrounds. The engaging narrative and eye for telling details undoubtedly reflect the expertise of Bruce Porter, a former editor of *Newsweek,* who is currently a journalism professor. The clear grasp of the local scene and the emphasis on black anger and resentment can be attributed to Marvin Dunn, who teaches community psychology in Miami. As an anatomy of a riot, the book achieves its purpose.

However, the authors have some difficulty putting the 1980 events in historical perspective. They argue that "the Miami riot followed a dramatically different course from the disorders in the 1960s" (p. 173). In contrast to the earlier disturbances which were directed primarily at property, "What was shocking about Miami was the intensity of the rage directed by blacks against white people" (p, xiii). The authors are undoubtedly correct in stressing this contrast with the 1960s but they go too far in claiming that "to find a precedent for the random killing of whites, one would have to reach back before the twentieth century to the Nat Turner-style slave rebellion before the Civil War" (p. 173). Four pages later the authors contradict this statement by pointing to antiwhite violence in race riots after World War I. In fact, the Detroit race riot of 1943 would provide an even more recent example of a "communal riot," as Morris Janowitz has termed a racial clash in which people rather than property are the primary target. Moreover, in Miami, as in previous communal riots, whites were not the only victims, despite the emphasis of Porter and Dunn. While black rioters murdered eight whites in Miami, three blacks minding their own business were shot to death by white motorists firing randomly. In addition, seven blacks were killed by authorities. The authors' consideration of the Miami violence and its relation to the past would have profited from greater use of the extensive historical and sociological literature on collective racial violence, and this in turn would have strengthened what is an otherwise insightful study of a single riot.

University of South Florida ROBERT P. INGALLS

Modern Florida Government. By Anne E. Kelley. (Landham, MD: University Press of America, 1983. xi, 395 pp. Preface, tables and charts, notes, glossary, bibliography, appendix, index. $36.75; $22.00 paper.)

Professor Kelley in the preface to her book notes that the last study on Florida government suitable for a classroom text was *The Government and Administration of Florida* by Wilson K.

Doyle, Angus M. Laird, and S. Sherman Weiss, published in 1954. Her objective was to provide a more up-to-date study. She selected the ten-year period 1968 through 1978 "to identify and to describe the governmental processess and institutions of modern Florida government." This may have been an unfortunate choice of years since in mid-1985 the text in many ways conveys a sense of staleness.

There have been many major changes in Florida in the years since 1978: legislators have been chosen since 1982 from single-member districts, negating the discussion of multi-member selection; the Public Service Commission has not regulated common carriers since 1980; the sales tax went from four to five per cent in 1982; and the homestead exemption was raised from $5,000 to $25,000 in 1982.

By limiting her statistical data-salaries, political party ratios, etc.– to the 1968-1978 period, Kelley may also be providing, albeit inadvertently, students and other users with misleading impressions. It is unwise to limit a classroom text to such a narrow period. Florida government simply does not stand still. For example, the governor's salary is given, without date, as $59,500; by January 1, 1986, the salary will be $78,700.

Some questions of fact mar an otherwise good discussion of state government. For instance, the question of legalizing casino gambling was on the ballot in 1978 by reason of popular initiative, and not as a result of proposed changes to the 1968 constitution as recommended by a revision commission. There is no such thing as a pocket veto of legislative acts; any act held longer than fifteen days by the governor becomes law without his signature.

Since 1980 the first reading of bills has been accomplished by publication in the journals of the house and senate. The special order calendar of the house controls the flow of bills to the chamber for consideration from the first day of a session, not the last thirty days. Fuller Warren was not the only governor to have impeachment charges filed against him; Governor Harrison Reed (1868-1872) survived four attempts to oust him. Wade Hopping was the Republican appointee to the Florida Supreme Court who was unseated in the general election, not Charles Holley. The Board of Administration seems confused in this volume with the Department of Administration. There are also some inconsistencies. On page 113, for instance, it is stated that the legislature has "hundreds of professional staff." The next paragraph speaks of "the lack of adequate research staffs." On page 126, Florida Power and Light Company is confused with the Florida Power Corporation.

But, as Chief Justice B. K. Roberts would say, "half of something is better than all of nothing." That bit of philosophy, so appropriate to the governmental process, applies to *Modem Florida Government*. While the reader may disagree with various statements, the fact remains that the book does provide useful information and it stimulates thought. Closer editing and clearer statement of time frame would improve the next edition. Professor Kelley has travelled a considerable distance toward her goal of closing the gap in texts since Doyle, et al., produced their book in 1954.

Tallahassee, Florida ALLEN MORRIS

Rails 'Neath the Palms. By Robert W. Mann. (Burbank, CA: Darwin Publications, 1983. 220 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, maps, illustrations, index. $29.95.)

This is a handsome book. Printed on glossy paper with an attractive four-color dust jacket, it will make a nice addition to every railroad buff's collection. Scores of quite rare railroad photographs are reproduced, and this reviewer had his visual knowledge of Florida railroading much enhanced by the volume. Unfortunately, the text does little to enhance the book's photographic excellence.

Varieties of people write railroad books: business analysts, historians and economists of transportation, steam and diesel power engineers, and train buffs-to name a few. Many combine a technical expertise with their love for railroading. The Jacksonville-resident author of this book is an amateur historian-railroad buff, and in this lies both the strengths and weaknesses of the work. It exhibits a frustrating indifference to dates, and historical inaccuracies abound. It is satisfing, however, as a reflection and illustration of one man's love for the railroads of his state.

Though the writing is often sparkling and romantic, at times it reflects the tone of local boosterism or the puffery of the early railroad brochures. The presence of a number of misspellings suggests that the work was not subjected to rigorous proofing. One also wonders if numbers of questionable statements reflect poor proofing or want of careful dedication to verifiable fact. It is hard to take seriously such wildly imaginative statements as that the St. Johns Railroad spawned "feeder lines which eventually grew into the trunk lines of today" (p. 7). That was a pre-Civil War horse-drawn line early absorbed into Flagler's system, but hardly "spawned" it!

Errors abound. Flagler would turn in his grave to learn that his magnificent "Whitehall" was located in *West* Palm Beach (p. 21). Historians will doubt that during the Florida boom the Jacksonville Terminal was the busiest "in the entire world" (p. 52). It stretches credulity to accept that the "Havana Special" *ever* ran in twenty-four sections (p. 52). It is amusing to read that Henry B. Plant sold his railroad system to the Atlantic Coast Line in 1902, because he died in 1899 (p. 68). It is disquieting to read that Tampa has stood on its bay for 400 years, "to rival Jamestown and Plymouth" (p. 115).

Those familiar with the Atlantic, Suwannee River and Gulf Railroad will be affronted at the claim that it was built by the Seaboard to a terminus at "Bell on the Suwannee River" (p. 128). A similar geographical vagary has David L. Yulee's cross-Florida railroad running from Cedar Key to West Palm Beach (p. 129). Another has the Live Oak, Perry, and Gulf interchanging cars at Perry with the Georgia Southern and Florida, near which the rails of the G.S. & F. never came.

The wary reader with a critical eye may see in this book broad general outlines of the development of several railroad systems in Florida: the Florida East Coast, the Atlantic Coast Line, the Seaboard Air Line, the Southern, the Louisville and Nashville, as well as the recent great mergers. Unfortunately, many of the fascinating really short little lines are ignored, but given the shortcomings noted, it may be just as well.

The credibility of this interesting book is seriously weakened by a lack of documentation. The author thanks railroad people and libraries for their help, but nowhere lists any bibliography. Nor does he use any citations to buttress what appear to be controversial interpretations or doubtful statements. Both general and expert readers will appreciate the excellent collection of hard-to-find photographs, but neither should take the text too seriously.

University of Florida HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

George Washington, A Biography By John R. Alden. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984. ix, 219 pp. Preface, illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. $19.95.)

The author of this one-volume life of George Washington brings impressive qualifications to his task. During his career Mr. Alden has produced four biographies of eighteenth-century worthies and three major volumes on the American War for Independence, two of them for distinguished series. This life of Washington, a natural capstone to the arch, joins three other single-volume biographies published in the past twenty-five years (Cunliffe, Callaghan, and Jones), all with strengths and all with deficiencies as well. These shorter treatments challenge the large-scale biographies that began with John Marshall's five volumes in the first decade after Washington's death and most recently are represented by two notable sets, the seven volumes of Douglas Southall Freeman (1948-1957), and James T. Flexner's four volumes (1965-1972).

Whether single- or multi-volume, biographies of Washington often leave readers with the uneasy feeling that the man has not quite come through, that he has eluded every effort to reveal his true inwardness. Washington himself must bear some of the blame; though he wrote frequent letters and kept a diary for part of his life, he carefully guarded his expression, so carefully that he often sounds like a grave judge reading a short paper at a public meeting. Getting at the man requires interpretation, sometimes risky interpretation.

In his title the author does not tip his hand: *George Washington, a Biography,* not "George Washington, the Indispensable Man" or "George Washington: Republican Aristocrat," or even "George Washington: Man and Monument." His 306 pages of text are roughly chronological, though not rigidly so. In the first 102 pages he carries Washington through his first forty-three years– youth, early military adventures, establishment as a planter, and his marriage. Then in approximately the same space (107 pages) he takes him through eight years of war, 1775-1783. Finally, after the interlude at Mount Vernon, the constitutional convention, and ratification, Alden describes in sixty-seven pages Washington's eight years as first president of the republic. This space allocation runs contrary to that of most single-volume studies of important figures in which the years of crowning achievement get a disproportionate number of pages, sometimes nearly all. Thus Mr. Alden implicitly recognized that Washington had two major public careers, one military and one civilian, both demanding the fullest analysis possible within space limitations. Readers may disagree with the author's decision to devote more space to Washington as the commander-in-chief, than to his tenure as president. They can certainly not cavil at the scholarship– the sources covered and the mass of secondary literature cited in the critical bibliography are impressive. On this solid base Mr. Alden has built his narrative and grounded his judgements. Though clearly an admirer of Washington (chapter VIII, “The Magnate of Mount Vernon” and chapter XVIII, “The Great Man” carry the burden of his interpretation), Alden also points out his weaknesses, for example his ardent pursuit of rank (pp. 49-59) and his tendency to shift blame from himself (p. 137). Alden has emphasized Washington's human qualities by telling of his relish for salty stories and by assuring us of his sexual potency. In brief Mr. Alden has exercised his right as a biographer to conceive his subject– after patient study of the enormous sources– and to present him with every resource of his art.

Of course this procedure may open the window to subjectivity that some purists will insist contaminates scholarship's antiseptic air. But reflective readers know that historical works carry a heavy freight of subjective elements, far more than the precepts of graduate method courses permit. Actually this subjective matter becomes an integral part (sometimes the most important part) of a historian's work, for his most important insights cannot be fully documented even in a book of large scope. Accordingly the burden on the historian's shoulders approaches the limit; in a sense the scholar– the master who has exhausted the sources and reflected deeply on their meaning– becomes his own authority. But the responsibility he assumes is enormous. In *George Washington, a Biography* readers will find what they properly expect: solid research, balanced judgements, and careful expression.

University of Georgia AUBREY C. LAND

The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume 8, Candidate, Compromiser, Whig, March 5, 1829-December 31, 1836. Edited by Robert Seager II. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1984. xii, 948 pp. Preface, symbols and abbreviations, calendar of unpublished letters, indexes. $40.00.)

Volume *8* of *The Papers of Henry Clay* begins as Clay was preparing to leave Washington, following the inauguration of Andrew Jackson. "Let us never despair of the American Republic," he advised a group of discouraged admirers at a farewell dinner on March 7, 1829. Relieved of the arduous duties of the office of secretary of state, he soon departed for the life of a private citizen in Kentucky, His trip home buoyed his spirits. It was "a kind of triumphant march," he wrote one correspondent. "Stages, taverns, tollgates have been generally thrown open to me, without charge; and I have literally had a free passage" (p. 19).

Clay professed that "retirement, unqualified retirement, from all public employment, is what I unaffectedly desire" (p. 54). Yet he was inexorably drawn back to the national political scene. He accepted election to the United States Senate from the Kentucky legislature in 1831, and the presidential nomination of the National Republican party later that year. His chances for victory against the popular incumbent– never good– were completely dashed by the Antimasonic movement, which prevented a united anti-Jackson electoral ticket in 1832.

During the nullification controversy Clay once again held the center of the political stage, but his authorship of the Compromise Tariff of 1833 failed to boost his presidential chances. Although he was the recognized leader of the congressional coalition against Jackson that adopted the Whig name in 1834, he received little encouragement to run for the presidency in 1836, nor did he seek the nomination. "It is repugnant to my feelings and sense of propriety," he wrote a supporter, "to be voluntarily placed in an attitude in which I would seem to be importuning the public for an office which it is not willing to confer" (p. 783).

Despite his earlier counsel to his followers, Clay himself almost despaired of the republic on numerous occasions during Jackson's presidency. "Blackguards, Bankrupts and Scoundrels, Profligacy and Corruption are the order of the day," he lamented in 1835 (p. 775). Private woes also plagued him. His eldest son, Theodore, was committed to the Lunatic Asylum of Kentucky, and his second son, Thomas Hart, drank excessively. But the cruelest blow was the death of his favorite child and last surviving daughter, Anne Clay Erwin, in 1835. "There are some wounds," he wrote a friend, "which nothing can heal" (p. 8 13).

There are considerably fewer Clay documents for the eight-year period from 1829 to 1836 than for the years– 1825 to 1829– when he served as secretary of state. Because editor Robert Seager II has chosen to summarize most of the correspondence Clay received, as well as his senatorial speeches, a project that once seemed destined to be extended into the twenty-first century now appears likely to be concluded with two additional volumes. On the whole, Seager has done a competent editorial job, but there are occasional slips. He states, for example, that letters from Clay's youngest sons, James Brown and John Morrison, dated January 11 and January 14, 1831, respectively, were "erroneously addressed" to their father in "Washington City" (pp. 3 19-2 1). Internal evidence, however, indicates that the letters were correctly addressed to Senator Clay at the nation's capital, but that they should have been dated 1832 instead of 1831.

University of Houston-University Park EDWIN A. MILES

No Chariot Let Down: Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War. Edited by Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984. xvi, 174 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $16.95.)

The position of the free Negro in antebellum southern society was always tenuous, resting on infirm ground. Blacks, whether slave of free, lived in a twilight zone under sharply defined limits. They were perpetually threatened by the prospect of kidnapping, court action, legislative enactments, and societal actions which limited opportunities for employment, travel, education, manumission, and the accumulation of property. At best, free blacks constituted an anomaly in the American democratic social order which, over a period of time, excluded them from active participation. At worse, free blacks lived in a shadowy world suspended between slavery and freedom, prompting historians to describe them as "denizens," rather than citizens, "quasi-free," and slaves without masters.

Michael Johnson and James Roark explore this nebulous world. Drawing on thirty-seven letters composed by free blacks and hitherto unknown to historians, the editors provide refreshingly new perspectives and insights into the daily lives of South Carolina's free black population. According to Johnson and Roark, free blacks lived full social lives prior to the enslavement crisis of 1859. They traveled freely inside and outside the state, attended gala affairs, including lavish weddings, receptions, festivals, and revivals, supported indigenous marriages, became engrossed in community gossip, constructed a network of community organizations and institutions geared to their needs, and jealously guarded their privileges and status. In short, their lives were strikingly similar to those of aristocratic whites whom they sought to emulate.

In 1859, however, national, state, and local circumstances conspired to threaten this tranquil world. John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, the division of the Democratic party over slavery, and the opposition of up-country planters and white Charleston labor forces to the perceived privileged status of free blacks forced the South Carolina legislature in 1859 to introduce and consider some twenty bills which imposed further restrictions on free blacks, including enslavement and diminished employment opportunities.

Free blacks in South Carolina, particularly Charleston, rallied to defend themselves in the new crisis. Drawing on a vast network of support within the white and black communities, aristocratic free blacks exploited their reserves and expertise to defeat the opposition. Charleston blacks resisted bullies and policemen, lobbied the mayor, legislators, and other white friends, organized a petition campaign among aristocratic whites to stave off efforts to enslave them and restrict employment opportunities, and considered such alternatives as emigration to distant countries or migration to other states. Some free blacks packed their possessions, sold their property, and left South Carolina. Most, however, preferred to ride out the storm, protect their property, and maintain the safety and security of family ties. In the end, the election of Lincoln and the secession crisis in the South forced whites to abandon attempts to enslave free blacks. Many survived the Civil War and became leaders in the new order of Reconstruction.

Johnson and Roark have made a distinctive contribution to the historical literature on free blacks through the publication of James Marsh Johnson's letters to his brother-in-law, Henry Ellison. By employing copious footnotes to explain references to persons, places, and events, the editors help to unravel relationships within the free black, slave, and white communities, without which the letters would be unfathomable. Beyond these considerations, however, their contribution remains small and unoriginal. Overall, historians will welcome *No Chariots Let Down* as valuable supplementary reading and as documentary sources for additional research.

Florida A and M University THEODORE HEMMINGWAY

A Woman Doctor's Civil War: Esther Hill Hawks' Diary. Edited by Gerald Schwartz. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984. x, 301 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, foreword, afterword, bibliography, index. $17.95.)

Esther Hill Hawks was an abolitionist, reformer, medical doctor, and fortunately for later generations, a diarist. When the Civil War erupted she and her husband, J. Milton Hawks, were eager to play a role. He became a surgeon in a black regiment, and Esther put her hand to whatever was needed or piqued her interest at the moment. She became a volunteer assistant in a hospital, a freedmen's teacher, physician for wounded black soldiers after the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts's suicidal charge on Fort Wagner, an orphanage supervisor, temporary Freedmen's Bureau agent in Florida, and an indefatigable socializer. From 1862 to 1866 she recorded much of what she did and observed in South Carolina and Florida in three diaries.

Hawks devoted more space to personal trivia than to more significant events, was far better at description than analysis, and occasionally her entries were written several weeks after the described events occurred, yet her diaries are both interesting and useful. They contain significant, if often biased and naive, accounts of freedmen, black soldiers, white teacher-missionaries, inept Union forces, black education, southern whites, and descriptions of living and travel conditions. She rarely found anything positive to say about southern whites. The better classes appear in her diary as arrogant and mean spirited. Poor whites were stupid and pitiable. Florida Crackers, she wrote, were "much less human than the negroes, more ignorant, dirty and lifeless-many of them look as if they had already been buried for months." She did not admire many of the Union officers and freedmen's teachers she encountered either. She dismissed one Union officer's wife with the comment: "to me she looks irishy." Although her pen was frequently gall-dipped when she characterized people, Hawks became almost rhapsodic when describing southern scenery.

Hawks's intense curiosity made her an interesting diarist. She seldom missed an opportunity to examine a new situation or location. Her inquisitiveness led her to observe the execution of three black soldiers, and to accompany some Union officers to a flag of truce meeting with their Confederate counterparts near Jacksonville in February 1865. At the latter meeting she was displeased when the enemy officers shared a pleasant picnic lunch, drank together until intoxicated, and parted with hearty handshakes. During the return to Jacksonville Hawks was seriouly injured when the drunken driver of the ambulance in which she was riding hit a fallen tree at high speed.

Professor Gerald Schwartz has ably edited the Hawks's diaries. His foreword, afterword, and footnotes add appreciably to the reader's understanding of both Hawks and her writings. The resulting book is a delightful and valuable addition to the literature of the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Florida State University JOE M. RICHARDSON

Last Train South: The Flight of the Confederate Government from Richmond. By James C. Clark. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1984. 164 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $17.95, plus 1.50 for postage).

This book tells the tragic, desperate, and doomed story of the flight by Jefferson Davis and his cabinet from Richmond, Virginia, in April 1865. First by train, then by horseback, carriages, and wagons, the weary leaders and their escorts moved south along an angled route. It is an account that has been detailed before-by A. J. Hanna's *Flight into Oblivion* (1938)– and more recently by Burke Davis in his *The Long Surrender* (1985).

Clark's version is written in a style that wanders from the scholarly to the journalistic and contains only 141 pages of text. The narrative is smooth and reads easily, although battlefield communications from General Robert E. Lee are inexplicably quoted in their entirety. As the train labors slowly along, various principals take their leave. At the start the passenger list is an impressive one. Among the fugitives are Stephen R. Mallory, secretary of the navy; John H. Reagan, postmaster general; John C. Breckinridge, secretary of war; Judah P. Benjamin, secretary of state; George Davis, attorney general; and George Trenholm, secretary of the treasury. Davis's wife, Varina Howell Davis, had gone on ahead.

Clark is obviously not aiming at profundity. Nor does he provide any startling interpretations or uncover any new evidence. Few manuscripts or contemporary newspapers are utilized, but, even so, the writer makes good use of memoirs and secondary sources. There are enough typographical errors to cause concern and probably worry– see pp. 41, 42, 105 (where three occur), and p. 106.

Some errors mar an otherwise sprightly treatment of Florida's role. For example, Clark has Breckinridge escaping down the St. Johns River. In fact, he was escaping up that mavrick stream. Admittedly, Florida was not densely populated in 1865, but the state's most settled area was in the north. It was not true that "there was nothing in between" Pensacola and St. Augustine except for "Tallahassee and some other scattered villages" (p. 106).

Despite such shortcomings, the book never loses its tight construction and holds the reader's interest. The capture of Davis at Irwinville (misspelled on p. 95), Georgia, avoids melodrama and is told with poignance. The author deals objectively with Jefferson Davis and is to be commended for making it embarrassingly clear that he was totally out of touch with reality. He never realized that the war was over. Somehow, the president of the fallen Confederacy believed, the South would regroup and sweep to triumphant victory on battlefields old and new.

Florida State *University* WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 13: 1914-1915. Edited by Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1984. xxx, 461 pp. Introduction, erratum, symbols and abbreviations, addenda, bibliography, index. $32.50.)

Booker T. Washington's career ended November 14, 1915, in Tuskegee, Alabama. He and his wife only barely made it home from St. Luke's Hospital in New York before he died. He had labored so diligently to prepare some of his race to establish itself as an economic and cultural entity in southern life. By 1915 the world and the South were in the initial stages of revolutionary changes. The Negro was migrating away from the farm and away from the South. His problems were now of new sorts. He was rapidly shifting his economic and social bases.

Washington had actually little intimate understanding, or perhaps sympathy, for many of the challenges facing the new urban Negro. Nationally political alignments and sources of power had shifted from the hospitable Republican occupancy of the White House of Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft to that of the Democrats and Woodrow Wilson. Washington seems never to have formed an acquaintance, with President Wilson, and the times were unpropitious for establishing an association with the nation caught up in the frenzy of World War I.

Running throughout this final volume of papers is a distinct note of changing times and the status of the Negro in American society. Also, despite the fact that Booker T. Washington had over the years formed strong liasons with powerful American commercial and financial leaders, there was also a feeling in 1915 of the strong currents of change. Included in this volume are letters from the old advisors such as Julius Rosenwald, Hollis B. Frissell, Oswald Garrison Villard, Andrew Carnegie, James Hardy Dillard, Seth Low, Emmet O'Neal, and many others. These letters reflect the overweening conservatism of the era in which Booker T. Washington had functioned so effectively. His philosophy of helping the Negro to make economic and social adjustments within the context of conservative and racist America would have found him later at bitter odds with the rising new urban black leadership.

The eulogistic editorials, special articles, and flood of letters and telegrams following his death stand as a kind of durable monument to a dedicated spokesman and laborer for his race. In his waning months Booker T. Washington had failed to heed the warnings about the condition of his health. Almost, it seems, as a fatalistic drive, he allowed himself to become overworked and exhausted when many of his friends urged him to rest and seek expert medical care.

In the publication of this final volume a major portion of the primary Washington record is now handsomely in hand. These highly-professionally edited papers not only place Booker T. Washington in the context of his times in the nation, and the South, but they add a distinct dimension to American social history. While Washington died without seeing any real reduction in the barbarity of lynching, the germ of criticism was virulent and it ultimately brought an end to this inhuman crime, but not until the Emmet Till and Philadelphia tragedies had shocked the American people.

Louis Harlan, Raymond W. Smock, and their associates kept on schedule for fifteen years to see this project nobly concluded. Surely Elizabeth Dulaney, a copy editor in the University of Illinois Press, deserves a note of high commendation, as does the press itself for the excellent format and publication of these voluminous papers. This final volume reflects not only the closing years of a determined American, but likewise incipient changes which in time were to reshape the currents of American history.

University of Kentucky THOMAS D. CLARK

The Greening of the South: The Recovery of Land and Forest. By Thomas D. Clark. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1984. xvi, 168 pp. Preface, bibliographical essay, index, illustrations. $20.00.)

For three decades Thomas D. Clark, Kentucky's noted historian, has been writing about the agrarian South and its lumber industry. In his latest book, *The Greening of the South,* he surveys in a short, concise, and statistically packed work the history of timbering in the South and its impact on the land, economy, and people of the region. While Clark tells the story of the shameless waste, exploitation, and wanton destruction of the vast virgin woodlands of the South, which left a legacy of millions of acres of scarred, denuded, eroded, and minerally depleted hillsides, the real thesis of his book is a heartening and up-beat one. It is the story of the turn-around, rebuilding, and changes in attitudes which re-greened the South. Thus, in essence, the book shows that man does not have to reap what he has sown but can change his ways and atone for his sins.

There are many villains to blame for the wholesale destruction of the South's pristine forests– the small farmer, the backwoodsman, the railroads, the timber barons, the federal government, the merchants, the state legislatures, John Q. Public himself, and even the woodland's wild razorbacks– but there are also some heroes that Clark singles out. They include the Great Southern Lumber Company of Bogalusa, Louisiana, which practiced conservation when it was an unpopular thing to do; George Vanderbilt's Biltmore forestry school, which privately trained foresters from 1898-1913; the Mississippi Federation of Women's Clubs, which promoted fire control, reclamation, and reforestation when few else would; the federal Weeks and Clarke-McNary laws which led to the repurchase of lands for national forests; the establishment of Forest Experiment Stations in 1921 (one was at Starke, Florida); the Civilian Conservation Corps, which during the Great Depression worked tirelessly to reseed and restore thousands of acres of southern forests; and finally, the individual scientists and foresters who brought about changes in knowledge, practices, and products which helped to bring about the "'new" South, the one which cares about scientific management, reclamation, reforestation, and conservation.

It was the scientists and professional foresters, who after 1920, brought about the revolutionary changes in paper manufacturing and forest cultivation which have resulted in vast changes in the economic, social, and physical landscape of the modern South. The South now supplies our nation two-thirds of its paper stock. Nearly 4,000,000 jobs in the South are directly related to the lumber industry and nearly 24,000,000 acres of forests in the South are now owned by the federal government. And while the South still loses thousands of acres of land each year, primarily due to urban sprawl, it appears that the wanton destruction of its forests has been arrested and the region will remain green for many generations to come. This is the story that Clark so ably tells.

The Greening of the South is the most recent addition to the University Press of Kentucky's series "New Perspectives on the South." It makes a good companion to Albert Cowdrey's *This Land, This South,* An *Environrnental History,* which the press also published. *The Greening of the South* includes an informative bibliographic essay and a good index. I recommend this to all who relish southern history and who would be heartened to read an up-beat story about the region.

University of Texas LINDA VANCE

The New Deal and the South. Edited by James C. Cobb and Michael V. Namorato. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984. x, 173 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, selected bibliography, index. $15.00 cloth, $8.95 paper.)

The volume brings together the papers delivered at the ninth annual Chancellor's Symposium on Southern History held at the University of Mississippi, October 1983. The six papers treat the impact of the New Deal on the South, attempting to assess especially the degree to which the New Deal was a turning point in southern history.

Frank Freidel in "The South and the New Deal" concludes that important social changes had come to the region during the thirties, but that the most important impact of the New Deal was the way it had changed potential leaders of the future South, such as Lyndon Johnson. Pete Daniel, in his examination of southern agriculture, points to the cross purposes which sometimes developed among the twenty-seven different federal agencies regulating aspects of agriculture during the Roosevelt era. In specific, statistical detail, he shows how tenants were hurt by acreage reductions and notes that New Deal farm programs generally reflected the biases of the particular administrators. The overall impact of the New Deal was to speed the process of mechanization and the concentration of land ownership, thereby encouraging a decrease in sharecroppers who were thus ready to gravitate to the defense industries of the 1940s.

In his chapter on the New Deal and labor, Wayne Flynt deals especially with the growth of unions in Alabama industry and concludes that the advance in union membership in New Deal years strengthened civil liberties, race relations, and political liberalism while it reduced wage differentials based on skill, race, and region. There was no similar revolution brought to internal southern politics by the New Deal according to Alan Brinkley. Roosevelt did not try to prevent local control of programs. On the other hand, Roosevelt's ability to gain votes in other regions shattered the South's grip on the Democratic party and allowed the party to become more liberal, especially after the removal of the two-thirds majority needed for a presidential nomination.

Harvard Sitkoff's assessment of the impact of the New Deal on blacks is similar to his presentation in his 1985 edited volume, *Fifty Years Later.* Rather than berating the lack of gains for blacks, Sitkoff praises the important ones which did occur. Numan Bartley in the concluding essay focuses on the New Deal's breakdown of the plantation system in the South, which in turn shattered the paternal order of life, paving the way for more individualism which underlay the later civil rights movement and the expanding role of women in southern society.

Collectively, these papers, while not strikingly novel, are well honed and bring together in one volume incisive insights into what was, if not a watershed, at least a seedbed for the modern South.

Winthrop College THOMAS S. MORGAN

Running Scared: Silver in Mississippi. By James W. Silver. (Jackson: University Presses of Mississippi, 1984. xiii, 238 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, afterword, appendixes, photographs, index. $14.95.)

Readers seeking information about Mississippi and the South are apt to be disappointed in *Running Scared: Silver in Mississippi.* The book lacks the purpose and force that made *Mississippi: The Closed Society* such a powerful work. James W. Silver, in the preface to *Running Scared,* explains that he wrote the book "to help straighten me out on the life of Jim Silver in Mississippi." Additionally, there was the fact that a retired history professor "cannot fish all of the time because of weather, marina hours, and lessening interest." The result is a book that adds rather little to the material and interpretation presented in *The Closed Society.*

In another sense, however, *Running Scared* is quite fascinating. It is the kind of book I suspect a great many academicians might like upon retirement to write, except for the fact that little of general interest has ever happened to most of us. A lot of interesting things happened to Silver, and he describes them with admirable honesty and sometimes with wit. Arriving in Mississippi in 1936, Silver and Margaret "Dutch" Thompson Silver liked Oxford and the University of Mississippi and "concluded that we hoped to enjoy the good life in Mississippi for the rest of our days" (p. x). Thereafter, Silver describes his evolution from "Embryonic Mississippian" (1936-1941) to "Staid Professor" (1939-1945) to "Optimistic Moderate" (1945-1954) to "Quiet Reformer" (1954-1959) to "Paper Radical" (1959-1965) to "Proper Hoosier" (1964-1969, the years Silver taught at the University of Notre Dame) to "Southerner Again" (1969- , the period that he taught at the University of South Florida and has lived in retirement in Florida).

During this odyssey, the Silvers became close friends to the family of William Faulkner, and the historian writes with some ambivalence about his personal relationship with the novelist. Silver examines his growing hostility toward the Mississippi program of massive resistance to desegregation and explains the events that led to his presidential address before the Southern Historical Association in November 1963. Indeed Silver chose the title *Running Scared* because "it most aptly describes my state of mind until some moment in the Meredith crisis when I stopped 'running scared'" (p. xi). Little more than a year after "the Meredith crisis" Silver delivered the paper that elevated him to national prominence. "My entire life," he writes, "had unquestionably been a preparation for my 'Mississippi: The Closed Society' speech in 1963" (p. 86). The following June Silver's book-length study of the closed society appeared, and a few months later the Silvers left Oxford for South Bend, never to return permanently to "the good life in Mississippi."

Like *Mississippi: The Closed Society, Running Scared* is part narrative (141 pages) and part documents (eighty-seven pages). Among the documents is the "Correspondence related to James Silver and the Board of Trustees," most of which was exchanged during the period between the "Closed Society" speech and the book. It was during these months when Silver suffered from health problems and official Mississippi harassment that, he writes, "I have never felt so alone in my life . . ." (p. *98). Running Scared* is a memoir by a leading American historian and an eminently decent person.

University of *Georgia* NUMAN V. BARTLEY

Ambivalent Legacy: A Legal History of the South. Edited by David J. Bodenhamer and James W. Ely, Jr. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984. Preface, tables, bibliography, index. $20.00; $8.95 paper.)

For all the scholarly attention that has been directed at the American South, there is a dearth of published work on the legal history of the region. *Ambivalent Legacy: A Legal History of the South,* a volume comprised of eleven essays, represents an attempt to redress this scholarly neglect.

This collection is drawn from papers presented in 1983 at a conference on southern legal history in Gulfport, Mississippi. The volume is divided into four sections: the first offers introductory pieces on southern law, one by the editors, David Bodenhamer and James Ely, and one by the keynote speaker at the conference, Lawrence Friedman. The second contains papers on law and the southern economy, the third presents essays on law and race relations, and the fourth includes papers on southern courts, lawyers, and judges.

Ambivalent Legacy gets off to a good start. The editors' essay maintains that the South possesses a "distinctive heritage in matters of law and society, but it has nonetheless remained part of the larger Union." This paradox gives rise to the volume's title. The editors point to several features of the southern legal tradition that they see as unique, including the frequently discussed subjects of race and violence and less well-known topics involving the judicial and economic systems. Friedman's essay points out how little is really known about southern legal history. He also challenges scholars to perform the painstaking research which will illuminate what is unique in the southern legal tradition or where southern law "converges" with that of American law generally.

Several of the essays in the volume reflect the kind of careful research called for in the introductory section. Three examples will suffice. Peter Hoffer's essay examines the record of criminal proceedings in the tidewater area of colonial Virginia. He finds that the apparent high rate of crime was more attributable to the fears of the citizenry than to a particularly heinous criminal class. His analysis presents a fine example of the importance of getting behind quantitative data rather than simply believing the numbers.

The best quantitative essay in the volume is also the one with the most scope: Kermit Hall's paper on the impact of elections on southern appellate courts between 1832 and 1920. Based on career-line studies of hundreds of judges, Hall concludes that the southern elected judiciary, in contrast to elected judges in other parts of the country, was superior in quality but more parochial and less accountable to constituents.

Mark Tushnet's essay on the strategy of the NAACP's legal staff between 1925 and 1950, while not entirely persuasive, is nonetheless provocative. The essay illustrates that the choices the organization made to fight for integration were not popular with all black intellectuals and suggests that social justice for blacks might better have been achieved by working for the improvement of conditions within segregated black communities than by confronting the massive white resistance that the NAACP's integrationist stance provoked.

As is usually the case with a collection of scholarly papers, the overall quality is uneven. Yet, any weaknesses in *Ambivalent Legacy* are more than compensated for by exhaustive footnotes and a selected bibliography of the best literature on southern legal history.

Clemson University JOHN W. JOHNSON

Swamp Water and Wiregrass: Historical Sketches of Coastal Georgia. By George A. Rogers and R. Frank Saunders, Jr. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984. ix, 253 pp. Introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. $19.95.)

Like all collections of essays, the quality and interest of these sketches varies considerably. Some consist of fairly well known material while others are about little known happenings.

Both authors have been members of the history department of Georgia Southern College at Statesboro, Georgia, and have worked on the history of this part of Georgia for some years. Most of the sketches are about Liberty County, a special interest of the authors. Thus the subtitle seems misleading in implying that a larger area is included.

After an introduction that sets the physical and social environment, there are thirteen sketches, eight of which have been previously published or read at historical meetings. The sketch on the genesis of the Midway settlement and the one on the Reverend Charles C. Jones and Bishop Stephen Elliott are about fairly well known matters. The sketches about the Civil War in Liberty County, Camp Lawton at Millen, and the experiences of Benjamin Wright as a prisoner of war at Camp Chase near Calumbus, Ohio, are standard treatments that do not come up with any startling new information or interpretations but which document specific incidents that should be useful to historians.

The sketches of Negro education and religion in post-Civil War Liberty County tell of not-so-well known happenings, often bizarre to the modern mind, that will be of special interest to the social historian and the historian of black life. One of the most interesting sketches describes the cavalry militia units and the ring tournaments or cavalry tilts, held in this area from 1830 to at least 1900. But this sketch wanders far afield from coastal Georgia. The sketch on Henry Ford's activities at Richmond Hill, Georgia, from 1925 to 1947 is enlightening and interesting. The authors claim that Ford did much to help a people sunk in poverty, despair, and disease. The book ends with a short historical sketch on the Altamaha River and Darien, the only town on that river's banks.

To this reviewer, the most interesting and in many ways the best sketch is that on agriculture in nineteenth-century Liberty County. It contains detail on post-Civil War agriculture proving that often the county did not fit the "standard" pattern of farming in that period for coastal Georgia. More such local studies are needed to reassess the accepted views of this topic.

Generally the sketches are clearly written, footnotes are adequate, and there is an extensive bibliography although containing a few strange errors. Often the introductions to the sketches are lengthy, in one case taking up about half of the sketch. There are conclusions also to tie the sketches to current historical ideas. This old-fashioned reviewer would have preferred shorter introductions and conclusions and more narrative describing what actually happened in the area. Those interested in Liberty County or coastal Georgia will find these sketches interesting and informative.

University of Georgia KENNETH COLEMAN